

# PRIMITIVE MAN

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# PRIMITIVE MAN

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## THE MARRIAGE CEREMONIES OF THE PHILIPPINE PEOPLES

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**T**HE cultural as well as the racial make-up of the Philippine Islands is vastly complicated owing to the large number of outside contacts which have influenced this region. It is pretty generally agreed that the Negritos were the earliest among the present inhabitants of the islands and that they were driven back deeper into the mountain fastnesses by the succeeding Indonesian and Malayan invasions. Some of the Negrito groups have retained relative purity while others have become very much mixed with the Malays. The Malayan peoples have further been affected by Chinese contact since 400 A. D., by Hindu culture around the thirteenth century, by Mohammedanism in the two centuries prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, by Christianity and other phases of western civilization introduced by the Spaniards, and finally, of course, by the American régime since 1899.

The purpose of this study, which was originally made in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the master's degree at the Catholic University of America, and some of the results of which are here summarized, was to trace as far as possible the development of the various marriage rites among the Philippine peoples.

There is comparatively little on this phase of culture in the ethnological literature of the islands, but what little there is has been gleaned therefrom. A fairly thorough search through the sources was made. In addition, the author undertook personal investigation on the subject among the Filipinos of Washington, D. C., and she wishes to express her sincere appreciation to her informants for their assistance in giving her first-hand data and in helping to clarify for her many of the rites described in the published sources. The tribes and peoples here discussed are the only ones on whose marriage ritual information has been obtainable. They represent but a small percentage of the actual number of tribes in the Islands, so the picture must, perforce, remain incomplete.

The major groups upon which we have information regarding marriage customs are the following. (A) *Malays of the Northern Group of Islands*: (1) *Alzado* tribes, Mountain Province, N. Luzon; (2) *Ifugaos*, including the *Banaue*, *Kiangan*, *Mayawyaw*, and *Sapao*, located in the northern, southern, eastern, and western sections respectively of the Ifugao sub-province of the Mountain Province; (3) *Igorotes*, including the *Benguet*, *Bontoc*, and *Tiagan*, in the western and central sections of N. Luzon; (4) *Ilocanos*, a civilized people of N. W. Luzon; (5) *Tagalogs*, a civilized people of Central Luzon and the islands surrounding that section, such as Cantaduanes and Mindoro; (6) *Tinguianes*, both the uncivilized tribes of the Apayao sub-province, and the civilized groups of Abra, Ilocos Norte, and Ilocos Sur. (B) *Malays of the Central Group of Islands*: *Bisayans*, a civilized people inhabiting Bohol, Calamianes Group, Cebu, Cuyo Archipelago, Leyte, Negros, Panay, Samar, and N. Mindanao. (C) *Malays of the Southern Group of Islands*: (1) *Bagobos*, central and eastern portion of Mt. Apo in Davao, S. E. Mindanao; (2) *Bila-an*, San Augustin peninsula, S. E. Mindanao and Sarangani Island; (3) *Buquidnones*, of Misamis Occidental, Misamis Oriental, and Bukidnon in N. Mindanao; (4) *Kulamans*, and (5) *Mandayas*, both in Davao, S. E. Mindanao; (6) *Manobos*, Agusan, N. E. Mindanao and N. Davao, S. E. Mindanao; (7) *Samales* of Samal Island, in the northern part of the Gulf of Davao; (8) *Samales-Laut* (Malayan;



"Samales of the Sea"; not related to the Samales above mentioned), on Basilan Island and in the Siassi Archipelago; (9) *Subanuns*, of Sindangan Bay, N. W. Mindanao; (10) *Sulu Moros*, Sulu (Jolo) Island.

(D) *Negritos* or *Aetas*: (1) *Aetas of Zambales*, W. coast of Central Luzon; (2) *Agutainos*, on Agutaya Island of the Cuyo Archipelago; (3) *Angat Negritos*, Bulacan, C. Luzon; (4) *Balugas*, Bataan and Cordillera region of Central Luzon; (5) *Bataks*, Palawan Island; (6) *Buquils*, Zambales, and Mindoro Island; (7) *Dumagas*, N. E. section of Isabela Province, N. E. Luzon, and Alabat Island; (8) *Tagbanuas*, of Palawan Island and the Calamianes Group, including the *Tagbanua Apurahuanos* in the central portion of Palawan; (9) *Negritos of Apayao*, Mountain Province; (10) *Negritos of Iriga Mts.*, in the Camarines Sur Province of S. Luzon.

#### THE RITES

Beneath the bewildering array of marriage rites which seem to differ so markedly from one people to the next, and in spite of the lacunae in the evidence, there can be discerned an orderly distribution of the elements which in various combinations go to make up the respective tribal ceremonies. Our first step is to present these elements and their distribution as exactly as our available information permits.

The payment of dowries in one form or another is found among all groups,—Negritos and Malays, including the Moros or Mohammedan Malays. Feasts, too, are an important adjunct of the marriage ceremonies throughout the islands and are dispensed with only in case the groom is so deep in debt that he cannot even borrow the wherewithal.

Marriage without ceremony except the feast and the payment of the dowry, is found only among the Negrito tribes,—those of Apayao, some of the Aetas, the Dumagas, possibly the Buquils, and an unnamed tribe mentioned by Blumentritt.<sup>1</sup> All of the

<sup>1</sup> Blumentritt, F., *Versuch einer Ethnographie der Philippinen*, Gotha, 1882: 7. To avoid overloading of this short paper with footnotes, sources are here given only for certain more critical data; full references to the 60 (ca.) sources drawn upon may be found in the writer's longer MS. in the Catholic University library.

other peoples have some observances over and above the feast and dowry payment. The major elements involved in the ceremonies proper are the following.

The ceremony is held at the bride's house among the civilized Tinguianes, the Tagals, the Subanuns, the Samales, the Sulu Moros, some of the Aetas, the Agutainos, the Bataks and the Tagbanuas. Among the Bagobos, it is held at a river near the bride's house. The Tinguianes of an unidentified region, the Bisayan nobles, and the Manobos hold the ceremony at the groom's residence. The evidence for the Tiagan Igorotes is conflicting: some are recorded as holding the rites at the bride's residence, others as holding them at the groom's residence. The Samales-Laut, having a double ceremony, go first to the groom's house and later to the bride's. The middle-class Tagals are the only ones recorded as having the ceremony at the priest's residence.

Regarding the officiator, the following Malays have a priest or priestess to act as such: the Banaue, Kiangnan and Mayawyaw Ifugaos, an unnamed section of the Igorotes, the Tinguianes of Abra and both Ilocos, the Tagalogs, the Bisayans, the Manobos, the Subanuns, the Samales, the Samales-Laut, and the Sulu Moros. The Subanuns however may dispense with the officiator altogether. As for the Negritos, only the Bataks and Tagbanuas have a religious officiator, and one section of the Tagbanuas has no officiator whatsoever. Some of the Malays, such as the Alzado tribes,<sup>2</sup> an unnamed section of the Igorotes, the Bontoc Igorotes, Tiagan Igorotes, and Bagobos, and some of the Negritos, viz., the Aetas, Balugas, and Iriga Mountain groups, have, instead of an official priest or priestess, an old man or an old woman. Moreover, even the Abra and Ilocos Tinguianes as well as the Sulu Moros, may dispense with the priest and have a layman or laywoman in his place. The same privilege of substitution obtains among the Batak and Tagbanua Apurahuanos groups of Negritos. The Manobos, however, require at the rite the presence of an old man or woman as well as of the priest.

Among a few of the peoples under consideration, members of the principals' families participate in the ceremony. Among the

<sup>2</sup> Information from the Hon. Mr. Quentin Paredes.

Abra and Ilocos Tinguianes the mother of the bride is specified. The fathers of the Buquidnon couple take part. The Sulu Moros allow either a priest or the bride's father to officiate. It is stated that one of the Negrito tribes requires the father of the bride and the father of the groom to swing the hammocks in which lie the bride and groom. The groom's father carries the bride up the ladder to the bamboo platform, where the actual ceremony takes place, among the Aetas of Subig and Olongapo in Zambales. At the homecoming rite of the Balugas, to be described *infra*, the groom's father carries the bride into the new hut of the couple. The relatives of the Buquil couple take part in the rites.

In one wedding-rite element, found only among the Negritos, the girl, during the ceremony, pretends to run away into the forest and has to be caught by the groom. There are several variants. Among the Aetas of Cabayan and Aglao, Zambales, the girl may run away followed by the groom, after the main part of the ceremony; among the Baluga, before; among the Iriga Mountain Negritos, after the discourse given by the officiator. This same rite is also found among an unidentified tribe spoken of by La Gironière,<sup>3</sup> but with a time-element attached: as soon as the sun rises the girl is sent off into the forest to hide; one hour later the young groom is sent to find her; if he brings her back before sunset, the marriage is carried out; but if he returns alone, he loses the right to her hand.

The Angat Negritos and the Balugas spend their honeymoon in the mountains, while according to Vanoverbergh<sup>4</sup> the Apayao Negritos just go off together, without any ceremony.

The head-bumping rite, in which the heads of the bride and groom are bumped together by the officiator, is likewise confined to the Negritos. The Aeta couple of Subig and Olongapo mount a high bamboo platform on which the rite is performed. The Balugas have their heads bumped together after descending from the platform, although prior to this a dousing with water is administered when they are on the platform. Montano re-

<sup>3</sup> La Gironière, P. P. de, *Vingt années aux Philippines*, Paris, 1843: 302-303.

<sup>4</sup> Vanoverbergh, M., "Philippine Negrito culture: Independent or borrowed?", *Primitive man*, 1933, 6: 26, 29.

ports<sup>5</sup> that among the Negritos of Bataan the man and woman climb up into two flexible trees, the chief draws the trees together, and when the couple's foreheads come into contact, the twain are considered man and wife.

Some Negrito tribes place the couple in two hammocks, which are swung back and forth, and when the hammocks come together, the man leaps into that of his bride and the marriage is concluded. The Agutaino Negritos require the bride and groom to rub shoulders.

The following contact ceremonies also occur. Among the Tagalogs and Bisayans the hands of the couple are united, and in addition, among the Tagalogs, the couple are hit with the same cord. One section of the Bagobos, among other rites, ties together the hair of the bride and groom.

The rice ceremony is found in varying forms among both the Malays and the Negritos. The simple form of having the bride and groom feed each other from the same plate, is found among the Bagobos, the Bila-ans, the Kulamans, the Mandayas, and the Subanuns. Among the last, as also among the Aetas, the guests shout during this part of the ceremony. Among the Aetas other food may be substituted for rice. Among one unidentified Negrito tribe the man gives the girl some salt or water, and among a section of the Tagbanua the couple feed each other with rice.

Another form of the rice ceremony is the exchange of rice balls. The Buquidnon couple, who have the rice balls handed to them by their respective fathers, hold these balls in their hands for a short time, then place them in each other's mouth. The Manobo couple hand the rice balls to each other, whereupon the groom passes the ball seven times from hand to hand behind his back and says, "We are now married, let our fame ascend"; the bride imitates him and the guests give a great shout.<sup>6</sup> Among the Batak Negritos an old man and woman each take a ball of rice from the same dish, then exchange the balls and give these to the bride and groom respectively, who in turn exchange them, and

<sup>5</sup> Montano, J., *Voyage aux Philippines*, Paris, 1886: 71.

<sup>6</sup> Garvan, J. M., *The Manobos of Mindanao*, Washington, 1931: 104-105.

then eat them. The Tagbanua Apurahuanos have a somewhat similar observance.

The civilized Tinguianes differ from the other Malays and the Negritos in having the bride and groom drink water from a coconut-shell in which two grains of rice have been dropped. The explanation for this custom is that just as the two grains go together at the bottom, so will the couple always be together, while the cool water keeps them from ever being angry. Cooked rice has also been provided in a dish. The girl makes a rice ball and throws it through the bamboo slits of the floor as an offering to the spirits; but the boy throws a rice ball into the air, and if the ball breaks or rolls, the marriage is either deferred or not entered into at all, since the breaking or rolling is considered an omen that their children would die, or they would separate. At San Juan and Ba-ak, in Abra, however, the rice ball is thrown at the house-posts and should it break it means that the couple will be blessed with many children. One of the writer's informants<sup>7</sup> told her that the Tinguianes of Abra sprinkle rice all over the place in abundance.

The following are still other ceremonies into which the use of rice enters. The priestess among the Tiagan Igorotes showers the couple with rice, blood, and wine. The Tagalog middle-class bride and groom are given rice to eat from the same dish, or they may go through another type of rice ceremony in which the priest holds a plate of crude rice in his hand while performing the ceremony; the rice is considered blessed and is given to the assistants. The Bisayan middle-class people and nobles have this same custom. Finally, at Roman Catholic weddings among the Tagals, the guests throw rice at the couple as they enter the bride's house for the feast after the ceremony, or more rarely shoes may be thrown.<sup>8</sup>

That the same plate is shared during the ceremony or feast is recorded for the Tiagan Igorotes, Tinguianes of Abra, Tagalog servants and middle-class, Roman Catholic Tagalogs,<sup>9</sup> Bagobos, Aetas of Zambales and Bataks. The same cup is used at the

<sup>7</sup>Miss Elisa Paredes.

<sup>8</sup>Information from the Hon. Mr. Quentin Paredes.

<sup>9</sup>Information from Mrs. and Mrs. Florentine P. Calabia.

ceremony or feast among the Alzado tribes,<sup>8</sup> an unnamed section of the Igorotes, the Tiagan Igorotes, the Tinguianes of Abra and both Ilocos, Tagal servants and middle-class people, Bisayan slaves and nobles, the Bagobos, and the Mandayas.

The use of tobacco in the marriage ritual is found among a few of the people. The civilized Tinguianes believe that the couple should smoke a cigar and drink the water to which the rest of the cigar and *agiwa* and bamboo leaves have been added, in order that the tobacco will keep them and their children from becoming insane, that the *agiwa* will keep them in good health, and that the bamboo may make them strong and parents of many children. Among the Negritos of Alabat Island an old woman takes some tobacco from the groom and sticks it into the mouth of the bride. The Batak bride and groom smoke the same cigar.

A few of the tribes have a betel-nut rite. The bride and groom among the Tinguianes of Likuan, Abra, chew the same betel-nut, while among the Samales-Laut the groom alone chews a betel-nut. The following method of divination obtains among the Manobos. After the feast, which follows immediately upon the ceremony, several quids of betel are put in a sacred dish which is then placed on the groom's head; the priestess steadies the dish with her hand and falls into an ecstatic trance; if one of the betel-nut slices becomes separated from its leaf, this is a bad omen, whereupon a prophylactic rite, the fowl-waving ceremony, must be performed immediately.

Throwing breakable objects during the marriage rite is seemingly of limited distribution. The guests at a Bisayan wedding throw new, unused pots against the feet of the newly-married pair. Among the Buquils the relatives of the couple may, at option, throw a breakable object on the floor,—in order to show the indissolubility of the marriage tie [*sic*].

Purification by water is reported for only two groups. Among the Bagobos, the officiator dips a bunch of plants, *uli-uli*, which possess magical properties, into the stream, and he then holds it over the heads of the couple so that the water drips upon them. The object of this is to give bodily strength and to ward off disease. The Baluga couple are given a dousing from a cocoa-nut shell full of water.

Among the Tagalog middle-class people the bride is assisted at her bath by her female friends on the eve of the marriage.

Anointing with cocoanut oil is recorded only among the Negritos. Among the Tagbanuas, of Burlan village, the priest takes the oil with his finger and traces a line on the man's arm, from the extremity of the index finger up to the shoulder. He traces a similar line on the girl but continues the line around to the breast. The Bataks and the Tagbanua Apurahuans have a similar rite.<sup>10</sup> The officiator, taking some cocoanut oil with his thumb, anoints the fore-finger of the groom and traces a line to the pulse, saying at the same time, "May your good fortune ascend". Then, placing his palm downwards, with the same forefinger he again anoints from the pulse to the tip, while he says: "May your bad fortune descend". The same thing is done to the bride.

The Tiagan Igorotes and the Bagobos make a point of displaying new clothing at the ceremony. Among the former, new mantles, girdles, and so forth, are put on the bride and groom by the officiator, while the fifth section in the marriage ceremony of the latter consists in the bride and groom each taking off their old clothes, revealing a new set underneath. The old clothes are flung into the stream and the garments float downwards to the sea, carrying away all disease.

Among the Benguet and Tiagan Igorotes, and the Tinguianes of Abra and both Ilocos, the bride and groom do together some work in the fields as part of the rites. This work is interpreted among the Tinguianes as showing respect for their elders.

Emphasis upon the first economic or domestic task of married life performed together is signified among the Bontoc Igorotes in the following way. The first rite, called the *In-pa-ke* ceremony, performed as soon as the young couple occupies the dwelling built by the girl's father, consists of killing a hog or carabao, wherewith the couple immediately start housekeeping. Among some of the Zambales Aeta groups it is customary, but not obligatory, for the young couple to go together to the river and to bring back a bamboo tube of water for their guests to drink,

<sup>10</sup> Venturello, M. H., *Manners and customs of the Tagbanuas... of the Island of Palawan, Philippines*, Washington, 1907: 529-530.



thus performing together in public the first domestic task of their married life.

A large number of the tribes observe omens at the time of the marriage ceremony. Some of these omens have been indicated already,—for instance, in the description of the rice ceremony. Some others are here added, although these by no means exhaust the list. Among the Banaue and Kiangnan Ifugaos<sup>11</sup> omens in nature are observed as the groom and his entourage make their way to the bride's house. If a bad omen is observed, the party has to return and another day is chosen for going to the home of the bride. Omens are also observed at the sacrifice of animals. After the celebration at the bride's house the couple go to the groom's house where another celebration is held, including the observation of omens revealed at the animal sacrifice, and a look-out for signs is kept on this trip. Among the Mayawyaw Ifugaos,<sup>12</sup> omens discernible in natural phenomena are noted at the bride's house. About the same situation obtains among the Tiagan Igorotes and Tinguianes.

A few of the tribes keep the couple locked up during part of the ceremony. The Benguet Igorotes<sup>13</sup> lock the couple in a rice granary during a period of time lasting from two days in some instances to several weeks in others. Feasting and dancing take place during this time. Lannoy<sup>14</sup> states that the couple are locked up after the ceremony. Among the Tiagan Igorotes, the couple are locked up for three days before the ceremony during which time omens are observed. Perez<sup>15</sup> reports that the couple, after marriage, live in one house, but without having sexual intercourse, and observe the omens for three days. If the omens are bad, the couple are separated and after a month has elapsed they are then brought together for a similar three-day period. They live together as man and wife only after the omens have turned out favorably. Among the Abra Tinguianes, among whom the

<sup>11</sup> Information from Mr. Adriano Kimayong.

<sup>12</sup> Lambrecht, *The Mayawyaw ritual*. 2. Marriage and marriage ritual, Wash., D. C., Cath. anthrop. conf., Publ., VI, no. 2 (1935): *passim*.

<sup>13</sup> Information from Mr. Solis.

<sup>14</sup> Lannoy, P. J., *Iles Philippines . . .*, Bruxelles, 1849: 24.

<sup>15</sup> Perez, *Igorotes . . .*, Manila, 1903: 9 From: Herosa, P. Benito.

celebration lasts for several days, the couple are kept in hiding in the house for a time but later on are brought out.<sup>16</sup> Among a section of the Tinguianes, the couple are kept in the groom's house for six or eight days. The couple among the middle-class Tagals are kept locked in a house from eight to ten days following the ceremony, but they do not have intercourse during this time.

Sacrifices and offerings to the spirits are rather common. The Alzado tribes offer food or a live chicken to the spirits,<sup>17</sup> as do at least some of the Igorotes. The Banaue, Kiangang,<sup>18</sup> and Mayawyaw Ifugaos<sup>19</sup> hold feasts at the couple's house, animals are sacrificed, the spirits of the animals are offered to the gods, and omens as revealed by the bile-sacs are observed,—whereupon if the omens are unpropitious the couple must separate. The Bontoc Igorote officiator places various articles of food in a dish before him while he prays to *Lumawig*, the one god, to bless the couple. The Tiagan Igorote priestess kills a pig during the ceremony, and the Ilocos Tinguianes, Tagal servants, and the Manobos follow the same practice. Moreover, the Manobos offer valuable articles to the spirits, and may have human sacrifice as well. The small blacks of the Iriga Mountains kill a pig after the ceremony.

The following Malay tribes pray to the spirits: the Alzado,<sup>17</sup> the Banaue, Kiangang<sup>18</sup> and Mayawyaw Ifugaos,<sup>19</sup> the Bontoc and Tiagan Igorotes, an unidentified section of the Igorotes, the Abra and Ilocos Tinguianes, the Tagalogs, the Bagobos, the Manobos, and the Subanuns, which last, however, may dispense with the invocation. The Balugas, Batak and Tagbanua Apurahuans Negrito tribes also have invocations.

Some of the peoples under consideration have a home-coming ceremony as part of the marriage rite, the essential feature of which is that at the steps of her new home, where the groom awaits her at the door, the bride stops several or many times

<sup>16</sup> Information from the Hon. Mr. Quentin Paredes and Miss Elisa Paredes.

<sup>17</sup> Information from the Hon. Mr. Quentin Paredes.

<sup>18</sup> Information from Mr. Adriano Kimayong.

<sup>19</sup> Lambrecht, F., loc. cit., *passim*.

with a display of bashfulness and refuses to ascend farther until she has received promises of worldly goods and so forth from the groom. Among both the Tagalogs and the Bisayan nobles this custom obtains in identical form, except that among the latter it is carried out before the marriage ceremony, among the former afterwards. The Baluga and Aeta (of Subig and Olongapo, Zambales) ceremony is somewhat similar except that while the above-mentioned Malays merely promise gifts to their bashful brides, the Negrito grooms actually give the presents, the wife does not make any show of bashfulness, and the gifts are made on the way to the new house.

Quite a number of the tribes insist on the deferment of consummation of marriage. The Benguet and Tiagan Igorotes defer consummation during the time they are locked in the house, as described above. The middle-class Tagal couple, who are also locked in the house, the Subanun couple, who remain in the bride's house for four days, and the Sulu Moros also observe this custom. Among the Tinguianes of Apayao, the Bagobos, and the Kulamans, the bride and groom sleep on the same mat, but a child, usually a boy, sleeps between them for a certain length of time. Similarly, among the Manobos an elderly female relative of the bride sleeps between the bride and groom. A pillow is placed between the couple among the Tinguianes of Abra and both Ilocos. Among certain of the Tagals the term *patanggan* is used to refer to the bed of the couple before consummation, while *apiran* is used to denote the marriage-bed. The Roman Catholic Tagals attend Church for nine mornings before they can consummate their marriage.<sup>20</sup>

The guests at a Benguet Igorote wedding present gifts to the bride, and the same thing is recorded for the Tagals of an earlier date. Among the Sulu Moros the gifts are presented to the couple. The Ilocanos who have the Roman Catholic rite have a particular way of presenting gifts to the bridal couple.<sup>21</sup> During the feast a man sits at a table with pencil and paper. He calls upon the guests for gifts, which consist usually of money.

<sup>20</sup> Information from Mr. and Mrs. F. Calabia.

<sup>21</sup> Information from the Hon. Mr. Q. Paredes.

The name of the donor and the type of gift are written down by him. The money, after being wrapped in a large handkerchief, is handed to the husband, who, in turn, hands it to his wife. The wife keeps the list so that when a marriage takes place in the family of one of the donors she can give in return an equal amount. The Tinguianes of Abra and both Ilocos have the same type of gift-giving, as have also the Roman Catholic Tagalogs and some sections of the Bisayans.

Among those who are married according to the Roman Catholic rite, the ceremony is just the same as is ordinarily performed in the Church with the following exceptions. Usually the people, especially in the outlying districts, are too poor to buy the rings needed. In such cases the Church provides the couple with two rings which are returned after the ceremony.<sup>22</sup> The priest puts the ring on the man's finger, while the groom puts the ring on the woman's finger. The double ring ceremony suggests Spanish custom. The present writer, however, was informed that if the ring is used at all only one is used, and that the people are only just now becoming accustomed to rings.<sup>23</sup> Possibly the informant meant that people are only now becoming accustomed to buy the rings. The single ring ceremony suggests American influence.

After the ring ceremony, the coin ceremony follows. Silver or gold coins, *arras*, which are chained together, are given by the priest to the man, who, in turn, gives them to the bride. Foreman states that the couple are given a bowl of coins and that the groom gives a handful of coins from the bowl to his bride as a symbol of his giving her all of his worldly possessions,—the bride returning the coins to the bowl from which the groom had taken them.<sup>24</sup> The coins suggest Spanish influence. There is no giving-away of the bride. The couple make the responses in their own language. According to Foreman<sup>24</sup> the ceremony takes place between five and six in the morning, after Mass and Communion. But the present writer is informed that the ceremony is held before Mass<sup>25</sup> as the Catholic ritual elsewhere requires.

<sup>22</sup> Information from Mr. and Mrs. F. Calabia.

<sup>23</sup> Information from Mr. Solis.

<sup>24</sup> Foreman, J., *The Philippine Islands*, London, 1890: 41-42.

<sup>25</sup> Information from Miss Elisa Paredes.

A word may here be said regarding the rites of the Independent Catholic Church, also known as the Filipino Independent Church. This church was founded during the 1899 insurrection by a Filipino priest, Gregorio Aglipay, who is still living. The Independent Church does not recognize the authority of the Pope. The rites are similar to those of the Roman Catholic Church except that the ritual is said in the local dialects,<sup>25</sup> and instead of saying "In the name of Christ", they say "In the name of Rizal",—José Rizal, the Filipino patriot who was shot in 1896. The ring ceremony is held first, then the coin ceremony, and finally the man gives to the bride a small flower called *sampaguita*, promising her his love. The bride promises her love to the groom as she accepts the flower.

The Samales, the Samales-Laut, and the Sulu Moros have ceremonies characteristic of the Mohammedan religion, albeit in slightly different form.

#### INTERPRETATION OF FACTS

*Absence of ceremony.* This absence among a number of the Negrito groups suggests strongly that in earlier times the Negritos as a whole had no wedding ceremony at all. Such absence would be in keeping with their whole culture which is so simple. Further, if only one or two contiguous tribes were lacking in these ceremonies, later loss of rites might be the more plausible explanation; but as so many Philippine Negrito groups in widely separated regions lack them, the greater probability is that the rites were not present to begin with. Comparison, too, with the Semang of the Malay Peninsula points in the same direction: Evans'<sup>26</sup> informants told him that the Negritos known as the Batek of Cheka River, the Jehehr, and the Menik-Kaien, have no marriage ceremonies whatsoever.

*Place of ceremony.* From the widespread occurrence of marriage at the bride's home, this may well be the more prevalent original Philippine custom. As in both Chinese and Mohammedan culture, marriage takes place at the groom's residence, the sporadic occurrence of the same custom in the Philippine Islands may be

<sup>26</sup> Evans, I. H. N., *Studies in religion, folk-lore and custom in British North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula*, Cambridge, 1923: 175.

due to later diffusion: among the Tiagan Igorotes from Chinese influence, among the Samales-Laut from Mohammedan. The Bagobo custom of holding the rites at a stream or river is possibly traceable to early intrusive Hindu influence, bathing in the river being a common element in southern Hindu wedding ceremonials.<sup>27</sup>

*Officiator.* Those Malays who go through with the simple rice ceremony, usually lack an officiator, which may indicate that the latter is a comparatively later innovation with them. The marriage ceremony among most of the Malays is religious in character, insofar as priests officiate, whereas among only two of the Negrito groups is this the case, and even in these two cases a lay person may be substituted.

*Flight of bride.* That the bride-flight is a specific trait of Negrito culture and a very old one may be inferred from the following facts. Among a number of Negrito groups it is the sole wedding custom, or where found with other customs these others have clearly been borrowed later by the Negritos. These groups are widely separated regionally. The basic rite takes variant local forms. The rite is not reported for any of the Malay peoples in the Philippines.

A somewhat similar rite is found among the Sea Jakuns of the Straits of Malacca to whom are closely related, it would seem, the Bajaos or Sea-Gypsies of the Sulu Archipelago.<sup>28</sup> Both Orosa<sup>29</sup> and Low<sup>30</sup> hold they come originally from Johore, Malay Peninsula. Among the Sea Jakuns a canoe race is held, the woman being given a good start, and the prospective bridegroom must overtake her before she has gone a certain distance.<sup>31</sup> The Jakuns of the Land have a very similar ceremony: a small, artificial mound, in the shape of a truncated cone, and decorated

<sup>27</sup> Thurston, E., *Ethnographic notes in southern India*, Madras, 1906: 123.

<sup>28</sup> Orosa, S. Y., *The Sulu Archipelago and its people*, Yonkers-on-Hudson, N. Y., 1923: 69.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>30</sup> Low, Sir H. B., *Sarawak . . .*, London, 1848: 344.

<sup>31</sup> Skeat, Walter Wm., *The wild tribes of the Malay Peninsula* (In: SI-AR, 1902, Wash., D. C., 1903: 474).

with flowers, is erected; the man is subjected to questioning by the girl's relatives as to whether he can provide for her; then he is required to overtake the bride before she has run seven times around the mound, and if he fails, the marriage is postponed.<sup>32</sup> The flight element is common to both the Sea and Land Jakun rites and the Philippine Negrito rite, and among the former and one group of the latter a time-limitation element too occurs. The similarities may point to genetic relationship between the two rites. As formerly the Negritos were more widely spread over the various islands than they are today, it may have been possible for them to have borrowed this rite from the Bajasos of the Sulu Archipelago, although, to be sure, it is not known whether the latter had or still have this rite.

The custom of spending the "honeymoon" in the mountains or away from the camp, found among the Angat Negritos and the Balugas, is also reported for some of the Semang.<sup>33</sup> The similarity is interesting but may be the result of "limited (geographical) possibilities".

*Head-ceremony and other contact ceremonies.* The Philippine Negrito head-bumping ceremony is also found among the Dyaks<sup>34</sup> of Sarawak, Borneo, but I have not found it reported for any of the Philippine Malays. Although Negritos are not to be found in Borneo,<sup>35</sup> except for some infusion of Negrito blood among the Indonesians of the northern districts,<sup>36</sup> yet this rite suggests an earlier direct or indirect cultural contact between the Dyaks and the Aetas, or their forbears. The hammock-bumping and

<sup>32</sup> Skeat, *ibid.*; cf. Martin, R., *Die Inlandstämme der malayischen Halbinsel*, Jena, 1905: 866.

<sup>33</sup> Schebesta, P., *Among the forest dwarfs of Malaya*, tr., London, 1929: 98, 233.

<sup>34</sup> St.-John, Sir S. B., *Life in the forests of the Far East*, London, 1862: I, 50-51.

<sup>35</sup> Haddon, A. C., *The physical characters of the races and peoples of Borneo* (In: Hose, C., and McDougall, W., *The pagan tribes of Borneo*, London, 1912: II, 311). Cf. also Hose, C., *Natural man, a record from Borneo*, London, 1926: 9-10, and Roth, H. L., *The natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, London, 1896: II, 293-302.

<sup>36</sup> Haddon, A. C., *Physical characters . . .*, II, 311.



shoulder-rubbing rites are peculiar to the Philippine Negritos. These Negrito contact rites, being found in several separate areas, look old. There is no evidence that they were taken over from the Philippine Malays. The union of the hands is apparently either from the Hindu<sup>37</sup> or from the Spanish. Hitting the hands and neck with the same cord is possibly a variant derivative from the Hindu rite of tying the hands together with a blade of *cusa* grass.<sup>38</sup> Tying together the hair of the couple seems to be from the Chinese,<sup>39</sup> who have the same rite.

*Rice ceremony.* The fact that this rite is so widespread among the Malays, is found in so many different forms, and has no officiator connected with it as a rule, would point towards its being a Malay rite and a very old one among the Malays. The rice-ceremony, in its different forms, is, as we have stated, often attended by shouts. The shouting custom may well be much more widespread than our published records show. The complex rice-ball rite may be a later elaboration of the rice-eating motif. The Manobo custom of speaking the previously-quoted words, and passing the balls seven times from hand to hand, may possibly be due to Arab or Mohammedan influence. The throwing of the rice and of the shoes at Roman Catholic weddings among the Tagal, is of course taken from the Americans,—at least the shoe-throwing is.

The Negritos have almost certainly taken over the rice ceremony from the Malays. In fact, the more remote Negritos do not plant rice, although they are fond of it.<sup>40</sup> Some of the Negritos, as we have stated, use some other food instead of rice, which might suggest that the small blacks originally had a food ceremony, before they took over the rice ceremony. But this is unlikely. The relatively pure Apayao Negritos lack this custom.

<sup>37</sup> The Grihyasūtras, rules of domestic Vedic ceremonies, tr. H. Oldenberg, Oxford, 1879-1910: XXIX, pt. 1, *passim*.

<sup>38</sup> Kerr, J., The domestic life, character, and customs of the natives of India, London, 1865: 204.

<sup>39</sup> Westermarck, Edw., The history of human marriage, 5th ed., N. Y., 1922: II, 442.

<sup>40</sup> Vanoverbergh, M., "Philippine Negrito culture: Independent or borrowed?", Primitive man, 1933, 6, no. 2.

The Kenta-Bogn, near Selama, Malay Peninsula, also share a repast between themselves; but this is an innovation from their Malay neighbors.<sup>41</sup> According to Skeat and Blagden<sup>42</sup> the repast shared by the couple is not required to make the marriage binding among the Semang; ritual purchase may suffice. The Andaman Island Negritos have no food ceremony whatsoever.<sup>43</sup> It would seem then that the food ceremony was not known to either the Negritos of the Philippine Islands or to the Negritos of the Malay Peninsula until the Malays introduced it to them.

*Same plate and / or cup shared.* The same plate or cup is shared where the couple feed each other with rice. This element in the rice rite, like the rite itself, is pretty clearly a native Malay rite, and where in use among the Negritos has been borrowed by them.

*Tobacco ceremony.* The use of tobacco is comparatively recent among the Malays, and has been introduced into their marriage rites by them. The Negritos have almost certainly taken it over from them. Most probably among only a section of the Bataks, and not among the whole tribe, is the rite of smoking the same cigar in vogue.

*Betel-nut and fowl-waving ceremonies.* Betel-chewing and almost certainly the betel-nut rite are not Negrito but have been taken over from the Malays. Although the betel-nut rite is recorded for only three tribes, it is probably more common. The fowl-waving ceremony is also found in Borneo, among the Dyaks of Sarawak.<sup>44</sup>

*Breakable objects thrown.* Most probably the Bisayans took over the rite from the Arabs or Mohammedans. It is a common custom in northern Africa, among the Mohammedans of the various sections, for the men to break a bowl, either before the

<sup>41</sup> Schebesta, ... Forest dwarfs ..., 1929: 207.

<sup>42</sup> Skeat, W. W. and Blagden, C. O., Pagan races of the Malay peninsula, London, 1906: II, 55.

<sup>43</sup> Man, Edw. H., On the aboriginal inhabitants of the Andaman Islands, London, 1883: 69; cf. Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., The Andaman Islanders, Cambridge, 1922: 73-74.

<sup>44</sup> St.-John, Life ..., 1862: 50-51.

ceremony itself, or before the consummation of the marriage.<sup>45</sup> The Buquils presumably took it over from the Bisayans. But it is hard to see how the indissolubility of marriage is symbolized by throwing breakable objects; the explanation may be a slip on the part of our sole authority.<sup>46</sup>

*Purification by water.* This is similar to a rite of the Hindu Vedic ceremonial: some *cusa* blades, sprinkled with water, are held over the fire, where the ceremony takes place, and the water is sprinkled around as an oblation to the gods.<sup>47</sup> The Bagobo rite may be due to Hindu influence.

*Bath of the bride.* This is also found among the Hindus,<sup>48</sup> and may well be due to Hindu influence.

*Anointing with coco-oil.* This too, among the Aetas, although not reported for any Philippine Malay group, is possibly due to Hindu influence. Among many of the Hindus,<sup>49</sup> the couple are smeared with powdered saffron, and anointed with oil.

*New clothing used in the ceremony.* Hindu influence may possibly be operative here. Some of the southern Hindus change their clothes after they bathe in the river, as part of the marriage ceremony.<sup>50</sup>

*First economic or domestic task of married life performed together.* The nature of these tasks,—work in the fields, killing of pig or carabao,—and the more common occurrence of the element among the Malays would seem to point to the element as Malayan, with the probability of the single occurrence of a somewhat similar element,—fetching water together,—among one section of the Zambales Aeta being the result of a diffusion from Malay culture.

*Omens observed and couple locked up.* Omens play so insignificant a part in the undisturbed Philippine Negrito culture<sup>51</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Westermarck, E., *Hist. human marr.*, II, 459.

<sup>46</sup> Paterno, P. A., *Los Itas* . . . , Madrid, 1890: 334.

<sup>47</sup> The *Grihyasūtras*, XXIX, pt. 1, *passim*.

<sup>48</sup> Westermarck, loc. cit., II, 504.

<sup>49</sup> Dubois, J. A., *Hindu manners, customs, and ceremonies* . . . , 3d ed., Oxford, 1928: 218.

<sup>50</sup> Thurston, E., *Ethnographic notes*, 123.

<sup>51</sup> Vanoverbergh, M., *Philip. Negrito culture*, *Prim. man*, 1933, 6: 30-31.

and so large a part in Malayan, that the observation of omens in connection with Philippine marriage rites may be considered Malayan. Malayan, too, appears to be the locking up of the couple, an observance not reported for any of the Negritos.

*Sacrifices and offerings to the spirits.* These two are no doubt Malayan, chicken-sacrifices and pig-sacrifices being typical for Philippine Malayan religious culture, while the first-fruit sacrifice is typical for Philippine Negrito culture. The non-sacrificial pig-killing of the Iriga Negritos has probably been taken over from the Malays.

*Prayers of invocation.* Since these are so widespread among the Malays, and not recorded except for Negrito groups of mixed blood and culture, these prayers are more probably Malayan. The Negrito marriage ceremony is social rather than religious in character.

*Home-coming ceremony.* This ceremony is reported only for the Tagals and the Bisayans. The chances are that the Balugas of Bataan took it over in modified form from the Tagalogs, and the Zambales Aetas from their neighbors the Balugas.

*Deferment of consummation of marriage.* Deferring the marriage consummation is common among Malays throughout the Islands, and occurs also in the Malay Peninsula. It is not reported for any of the Negrito groups. It is therefore probably Malayan, not Negrito.

*Gift-giving to the bride and / or groom, and list made of gifts.* The custom of gift-giving, coupled with the writing of the list, is common only for the civilized peoples, Tagalogs, Bisayans, and Ilocanos, of the Philippines. The Tinguianes have probably borrowed this custom from their neighbors, the Ilocanos.

*Roman Catholic rites.* The double-ring ceremony where used, has been taken over from the Spaniards; the single-ring ceremony most probably from the Americans.

*Rites of the Independent Catholic Church.* The only differences from the Catholic rite are: the use of the local dialects with complete elimination of the Latin; the use of the *sampaguita* flower, which is most probably an innovation with the people who belong to the Church; and the substitution of Rizal's name for the name of Christ.

## CONCLUSIONS

1. Characteristic of Philippine Negrito culture are the flight of the bride, the honeymoon in the mountains, the head-bumping rite, and holding part of the ceremony in the trees or on a high platform. Complete absence of all ceremony, symbolic or other, is reported for a number of the Philippine Negrito groups, and may be the older. Such absence would constitute a negative correlation with the culture of some of the Malay Peninsula Negritos. The bride-flight found among the Sea and Land Jakun, the head-bumping among the Dyak of Borneo, the mountain "honeymoon" among some of the Semang, suggest genetic cultural relationships with the respective Philippine Negrito customs.

2. The following elements appear as distinctively Malayan, in contrast to the Negrito and other rites: priestly officiator, rice ceremony, tobacco (later) and betel-nut, performance of first economic or domestic task together, blood-sacrifices and observance of omens, and perhaps deferment of consummation of marriage.

3. A rather sharp contrast is discernible between the Negrito and the Malayan wedding-rite patterns, confirming in so far Vanoverbergh's view of the independence of Negrito culture. A prominent aspect of this contrast is the presence of marked religious observances in the Malayan pattern, and the absence thereof in the Negrito.

4. To early Hindu influences may with some plausibility be traced: wedding at the river side (Bagobo), purification by water, bath of the bride, anointing with oil, and possibly new clothing.

5. Marriage at the groom's residence among the Tiagan Igorotes may possibly be due to Chinese influence; the tying of the hair together among the Bagobo, probably so due.

6. Mohammedan influence is observable in the wedding rites of the Sulu Moros, Samales and especially the Samales-Laut, and perhaps too in the throwing of breakable objects.

7. The double-ring and *arras* elements are Spanish.

8. American influence is observable in the throwing of the rice and shoes.

9. Ethnological literature contains few interpretative historical studies of primitive wedding rites. The field appears to hold fairly promising possibilities for the study of spatial and temporal relationships, at least in large areas of Old World culture. In the New World, where aboriginal wedding ceremonies are generally less elaborate and distinctive, the possibilities are correspondingly less promising.

### BIRTH, INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD AMONG THE ORDOS MONGOLS

REV. JOSEPH KLER, C.I.C.M.

Ordos Desert, Inner Mongolia

IN a previous short paper we have given a summary account of "Sickness, Death, and Burial among the Mongols of the Ordos Desert",<sup>1</sup> Inner Mongolia, among whom the writer has lived for the last fourteen years. The present paper presents a brief account of birth and infancy among the same people.

The Ordos Mongols have not many children, as a result largely of lamaism and immorality.<sup>2</sup> About one third of the male population is to be found in the lamaseries, where, vowed to obligatory celibacy, they lead a life of debauchery and contaminate the homes in which the lack of hygiene and the prevalence of venereal diseases play further havoc. The rigor of the climate, especially of the Mongol winter, and the custom of sleeping on the ground, although upon felts or furs, also involve hazards for young pregnant women.

Having relatively few children, the Mongols love them all the more. To have children, they pray to Tsji Katun, venerated in the banner of Wang. (One of the wives of Ginghiskhan bore the same name). With this intention they bow down before this deity, just as the Chinese do before Kuān-yun, and make her an offering of *honin cūtk'e* and of *sarhob* (alcohol). The guardians

<sup>1</sup> PRIMITIVE MAN, 1936, 9: 27-31.

<sup>2</sup> J. Kler, Quelques notes sur les coutumes matrimoniales des Mongols Ortos (Urdus) Sud, *Anthropos*, 1935, 30: 167; idem, L'évangélisation chez les Mongols, *Xaveriana*, Louvain, no. 126, 1934, 177-80.

of the said pagoda then say: "Here is So-and-so who wishes to have children". It is reported that often the prayer is heard. There are no special prayers.

While the supplicant is returning to her home, she must not enter any tent or speak to any one, for fear lest the infant now conceived should pass over to the person whom she visits or addresses. If her prayer is heard, she must return to Tsji Katun's pagoda, at Edjin Horn, in the banner of Wang, to render thanksgiving and to make anew the offering above-mentioned.

Should a pregnant woman make fun of a camel or eat hare meat, her infant will be born with a hare lip, and other people will say that she has made fun of a camel or hare or of some person with hare lip.

There are midwives (*tsjārin*, or also *otāgān*) who help the mother at childbirth. They have a special medicine for difficult deliveries.<sup>3</sup> This is a miniature pebble, the size of a grain of coffee, gray in color, called *p'heüldjeng*. The effect follows immediately upon the swallowing of the pebble by the woman, and she brings her infant into the world. If the baby is a boy, he will be holding the *p'heüldjeng* in his right hand at birth; if a girl, in her left hand. This pebble must be taken at once out of the hand of the baby, for if it should fall to the ground it could never be used again. In any case it cannot be used more than three times. This pebble is also employed as a remedy for maladies of the eye, such as trachoma, acute conjunctivitis, and so forth; on its being touched to the eyes, the pebble disappears and some time later falls of itself out of the eye.<sup>4</sup>

During delivery the mother is seated on the ground with her legs apart, while the midwife supports her from behind by placing her arms under the mother's armpits. In cutting the navel cord no precautions are taken to prevent infection from dirty implements. The midwife who cuts the cord also removes the mucous deposits (*salai*) from the baby's mouth with her index finger.

<sup>3</sup> There is also another medicine, called *larzäe*, which is believed to prevent conception and to induce abortion.

<sup>4</sup> For eye maladies the Ordos Mongol also washes his eyes in the morning with his own urine.



If the mother should die during childbirth, the tent is considered unclean for one hundred days thereafter.

After the birth of the infant the mother is considered unclean and must remain inside the tent; no stranger may during this time enter the tent or house where she is, lest he too become unclean and so be obliged to purify himself by jumping over a fire in which incense (*ardshā*) is burning.

The newborn infant is bathed each day with warm water. A little sand (*manya*) is spread on the ground, and the child is held over it so that the bath water drops on the sand. This sand, so dampened with the water, as also the water left over from the bathing, are scrupulously thrown into a small well which is reserved for this purpose and which has a cover. This bath water, we may mention in passing, is often later recalled expressly to memory,<sup>5</sup>—whence the expression, *oḡwāsan osso in gatjar*, that is, “native country, native land, paternal home”.

If the mother has not sufficient milk to nurse her infant, she resorts to cow's or goat's milk, which is fed to the infant in a cattle horn. The horn is sawed off at the tip, this small sawed-off end being covered all round with a bit of tied-on cloth which serves as a nipple. Incidentally, the same procedure is followed for lambs.

Infanticide occurs if the mother is a young unmarried girl. But infanticide of children born within wedlock is so rare that during my fourteen years of residence among the Ordos Mongols I have never heard tell of a single case. Sometimes, however, infants are accidentally smothered at night by their mothers, as a result of the prevalent custom of children sleeping all through the night upon the mother's breast, a custom which may continue until the child reaches the age of about ten.

When a mother bears few children or when her children suffer a high mortality, she calls in a woman who has numerous offspring. The sole infant of the first mother is then placed behind the latter. This latter stretches her legs apart and then puts the infant upon her own breast, just as she would have done if she had brought the infant into the world, and she nurses him for

<sup>5</sup> Léon Cahun (Introd. à l'hist. des Turcs, Paris, 1863) mentions it in his account of the death of Ginghickhan.

the next three or four days. Her sheep dog (of a rare Mongol variety) is then fetched, and the baby is passed under the dog's belly, after which the infant is returned to its real mother, the temporary foster-mother saying at the same time: "Take good care of my child for the future". From then on the child is called *tsjidēber k'ou* (adoptive child). An ordinary child is called in Mongol, *k'oukēt sjibū*, that is, "infant-bird".

To protect the newly-born infant against diseases, on the third day after birth a bit of thread is dipped in ink and is drawn with a needle through and under the skin of the child's nose horizontally from one side to the other at a point on the nose just between the eyes.

Twins are nursed and reared together, although sometimes one of the twins may be given to another family.

When the infant reaches the age of one month, there is celebrated the "Month Feast". On this occasion the midwife receives a present,—a block of tea, or a sheep, or a robe, if the family be rich.

Mongol parents are careful that the baby's bed is always dry, and they frequently change the baby's clothing. To the west of Otok one sees also a kind of miniature mattress with a cushion or pad, on which the baby is tied and which is swung from the interior of the tent. On this sort of hammock the infant rests for four or five months. This is done to protect the baby, as the Mongol tents are not spacious.

If a boy baby becomes ill, often a vow is made to offer him to the Buddha at the lamasery where he will be vowed to lamaist celibacy. If an infant dies, the body is just thrown away, and no mourning observance is carried out.

The mothers nurse their infants over a long period. We have seen cases of children ten years old still being nursed.

In the evening when the time comes for the children to go to bed, after they have taken off all their clothes, or if very young after the parents have done this for them, they warm themselves at the fire on the hearth (*kolomda*) before getting under the covers. Some Mongols keep up this custom throughout their whole lives.

Although in the matter of births the Mongols prefer boys to girls, boys and girls are loved equally once they have arrived in the family. There does not exist the difference of treatment which one observes among the Chinese.

When the child has attained the age of one year, the anniversary feast is celebrated. The child's forehead is rubbed with butter (*mīlāyahū*) and he is given his first haircut. The cut hair is tied in a whisp and passed through out or more sapèques<sup>6</sup> (small coins) of ancient date and hung on the child's back. On this day, too, they place before the infant a table on which are cakes, two hundred sapèques, silver, butter, and a whip. The child put at the table reaches out for one or other of the things thereon, and his future is divined from what he lays hands on. If, for instance, he grasps the whip, this is a sign that he will love horses and will be a good rider.

On this same day a lama (*hara-backši* : *hara*, citizen; *backši*, master) is asked to come to safeguard the life of the child until he is twelve years old. A small silver chain with a padlock attached is put around the neck of the child. The chain is locked and the lama takes away the key and keeps it until the child is twelve years old,—at which time the lama reopens the lock.

Very often, to deceive the spirits, a boy is then dressed as a girl and the girl as a boy (without piercing her ears for ear ornaments). The girl will then be called by the parents "our son". On the other hand, the boy dressed as a girl will wear earrings and will wear clothes of colors proper to girls. At the age of twelve, the boy will resume male attire and adornment, and the girl will resume female habiliments. The sole purpose of this change in externals is to fool the malevolent spirits.

This same first birthday, the parents will ask the oldest of the guests to prognosticate the age the child will reach. Naturally they foretell eighty or ninety years as the life span of the child.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The Mongols call the old sapèques "stirrup sapèques". The Mongol who tames and trains wild horses puts one of these sapèques on his whip and carries one on his person; if he falls from his horse he will then suffer no accident or bruise.

<sup>7</sup> Should a Mongol man reach the age of 120 years (!), and the fact become known to the chief of his own banner, the man will be given five

On the same day, too, the child will have many prostrations and bows of the head (*t'ologoy meurgūhū*) to make before the domestic statue of the Borhan, and a present of a horse will be given to the midwife. Likewise on this day the parents (father) give a *hatak* to the guests, on asking them to bestow a name on the child. Often, however, the parents themselves bestow the name.

All the Mongols have a family name, known by some but unknown to others. In addition all have another name which is the only one used in everyday life. Many of these names are of Buddhist origin or are in the Tibetan tongue.

Some of the family names, for example, are: Aonūdjin, "those who trap gazelles"; Poronōd, "the grey ones"; Haranūt, "the black ones"; Honidsjid, "those who tend the sheep".<sup>8</sup>

Some men's names, by way of illustration, are: Arbinbajar, "much happiness"; Arsalang, "lion"; Pagadūr, "hero"; Bajindalai, "ocean of riches"; Bojanto, "virtuous"; Poro, "grey"; Erdeni, "jewel"; Mōngge, "eternal". Some women's names: Alima, "apple"; Aldantoli, "mirror of gold"; Batagar, "little"; Padmasu, "lotus"; Hologona, "rat"; Aldantsitsjik, "flower of gold"; Narangeril, "brightness of the sun". Some names common to both sexes: Okk'in, "virgin"; Poro okk'in, "grey virgin"; Haldjan, "bald head".

Such proper names are changed when some one of higher status in the family bears the same name. For instance, if a widow has a son called Oldjado and she marries a man who has this name, her son has to change his name. If a girl called Tsāgan okk'in ("white virgin") marries a man whose mother is called Tsāgan dsjitsjik ("white flower"), the girl must change her name. If a father should have the name Batadjirgal, his son could not be called Batatsjāgān, for the two names begin with the same prefix. Then, too, no two people living in the same tent may have the same name.

slaves (*ker albat'o*) to wait on him for the rest of his days; should an Ordos woman reach this age, the chief will present her with a walking-stick (*t'ayak*) and a cloak.

<sup>8</sup> For further family or clan names, see A. Mostaert, *Ordosica*, in Bull. Catholic univ. of Peking, Nov. 1934, no. 9, pp. 23-25.

A woman never utters the name of her husband, nor a daughter-in-law the name of her mother-in-law, nor a daughter the name of her mother. In ordinary conversation some substitute is used: for example, if a woman's father-in-law is called Bajan ("rich") she must never use this word, but instead some synonym such as *tjagostai* ("having money, rich"); if her mother-in-law is called Kalsan, the daughter-in-law when she wishes to speak of the fire (*kal*) will use instead the word *tsjodali*. Likewise the names of deceased parents and parents-in-law are never mentioned.

A husband calls his wife *k'er in k'omori* ("the man of the house"), or *kerdegčn* (same meaning), or *talapeje* ("my half"), or *paga nasot'ai* ("young man"). A wife calls her husband *ik'e nasot'ai* ("old man") even though he happen to be younger than she is.

Let us return to the child. The Mongols are very affectionate to their children and frequently kiss them on the mouth or forehead or smell their hair. They have another custom none too decent. When elders,—parents or friends,—play with infants, they commonly touch the child's genitals and caress them, saying at the same time: "Give me this",—a custom daily observable also among the pagan Chinese.

In the very hot Mongolian summer the children up to the age of ten or twelve play on the sand dunes entirely nude, except perhaps for their boots.

The first instruction given the child is in the custom of *koūgoūr*, that is, the reciprocal offering of the small phial on meeting while uttering the usual form of greeting *mōnto sain* or *amor sain baino*, equivalent to our "peace" or "how do you do?" The child is also taught how to bow his head, to make prostrations, and to be polite. From the tenderest age children are inured to horsemanship. The father often takes his infant upon his knee while riding. The mother will ride at full gallop across the immense Mongolian steppes with her infant on her back. We have often seen boys of five to seven years of age on horseback, galloping along.

When an infant receives new clothes, its forehead must be rubbed with butter. Elders are extremely fond of infants, and



FIG. 1. YOUNG ORDOS MONGOL BOYS PLAYING WITH BOW AND ARROW

*Photo—J. Kler*



FIG. 2. YOUNG ORDOS MONGOL GIRLS (13-16 YEARS OLD)

*Photo—J. Kler*

sometimes when parents have punished their children, discord among the grandparents and others breaks out.

The first task of children, once they have reached the age of from six to ten or thirteen years, is to look after the sheep and calves. Children will at times be seen holding a pet lamb or kid in their arms or playing with the dogs. Sometimes too the father makes a bow (*nomo*) for his boy, and the boy practises archery (fig. 1).

There are no schools or public education. In a rare family a teacher is secured and the children are taught writing and some of the Mongol poems. Once the youngsters know how to write, their education is finished. The only textbook we have ever seen in the hands of boys is the *Bokto in sorgal*, a small compilation of rules of etiquette and of simple natural science. Our Christian Mongol children use modern textbooks in the school attached to our mission at Poro-Balgason.

The best day for piercing the ears of female infants is the second day of the second month of life. Earrings are then attached to their ears.

Among the Ordos Mongols, children are sometimes betrothed even before their birth. This custom, called *eündege in swie* ("match-making before birth"), is thought by the Mongols to be of very ancient origin. The Mongol historian, Sanang Setjin, tells us in his history that a certain Mongol emperor, born in 1466 A. D. was married at the age of five to a widow aged twenty-three. The actual age of marriage today varies a great deal, from four or five years to sixteen or seventeen, the average or ordinary age being fifteen.



**THE RELIGION OF THE SASKATCHEWAN AND  
WESTERN MANITOBA CREE**

REV. M. ROSSIGNOL, O.M.I.

Île à la Crosse, Saskatchewan

THESE brief notes refer to the Cree of Saskatchewan and western Manitoba among whom the writer has worked for the last thirty-eight years. The first eleven of these years were spent at the mission of Pelican Narrows from which center he came in contact with the Cree as far as Pakitiwagan and Nelson House; the last twenty-seven at the mission of Île à la Crosse in contact with all the Cree of the area, and with those of Waterhen Lake.

The old people living today have been subject to Christian influence, and hence it is difficult to determine whether certain aspects of their present beliefs did or did not antedate the teaching of the missionaries. The picture can, however, be at least in part traced from the memory of these old people and especially from that of still older ones now dead but known to me during their lifetime. The ancient religion of these people largely centered around the Supreme Being and the guardian spirits. We shall take each in turn.

Some of the evidence for their theism is negative, some positive. As instances of negative evidence we may cite two examples. An old Cree, Oyabateikew ("aimer"), born around 1800 and already a centenarian or nearly so when I knew him, and a confirmed pagan, liked to talk of his former deeds of prowess. Never in his conversation, however, did I hear him challenge our Christian belief in God. He appeared to find it all very natural, although preferring to follow his own religion out of habit. He did not want to hear anything about baptism. A Protestant minister offered to baptize him, but he answered sharply: "If you pour water on me, I will pour water on you". Michel, another old man, a pagan medicine man in his youth, later a Christian, told me that nothing in the missionary's sermons had surprised him, but that the white man's contempt for the pagan observances had shocked him. In general, the existence of a single Supreme

Being above everything and everybody was never denied or challenged by the completely pagan Cree when the first missionaries came to preach to them. Such evidence as this is only negative, and by no means conclusive, but it has perhaps a certain weight, particularly in view of the positive evidence now to be given.

An old man, Namegus ("trout"), then in his eighties, made the following remark in a loud voice to the other Indians when he first heard Father Bonald preach sixty-five years ago: "I did not know that God required that we rest for a day every seven days. But what He does is reasonable and just". The implication seems clear enough that it was not the belief in God but the observance of Sunday that was a novelty to him. Incidentally, Namegus never became a Christian but died a pagan. When his wife wanted to become a Christian and be baptized, he did not forbid her, but just made fun of her. As she came back from the ceremony, he asked her what her new name was and invited her to eat, offering her a piece of dried meat, the hardest he could find, and saying to her: "Let's see if your teeth will cut better now that your name is Nancy".

On one occasion I wanted to preach Christianity in a certain Cree camp. After several fruitless attempts I succeeded in persuading some of the men to listen to me. A dozen of the older men presented themselves. They had forbidden the young men to come, fearing their possible defection. Before this select audience I explained as best I could the fundamental principles of Christianity and asked my hearers to think them over. But I had before me men determined to hold to their own convictions. Two or three of them, real orators, rose to answer me and to discuss my teaching. I remember very well what one of them said: "We admit all you have just said. We know that God exists and that He created all men. He made the Whites of white earth and us Cree of brown earth. He has also given a particular religion to the Whites and another quite different one to the Cree. To each his own."

Not so long ago I met an old pagan Cree man who had turned Catholic. After some conversation on various topics, I asked him the following question: "Can you tell me, Jean Marie, what

the ancient Cree thought about God before the evangelization of the country?" Without hesitation he answered: "I could not tell you all that they knew or thought, but certainly they knew that God exists. They had the custom of telling the children: 'Here, you young people, destroy nothing. Take good care of everything and do not waste anything, because it is God who is the master. Do not insult the wind, God has made it. Do not have contempt for water, God has created it. Accept rain without murmuring, for God sends it to us. Do not abuse the trees or anything else, because God has provided these things for our use'. These sayings of the old men which they would repeat to us over and over again have remained quite distinct in my memory".

Now for a few words on the guardian spirit belief and cult of these Saskatchewan and western Manitoba Cree. Every Cree had a guardian spirit or spirits whom he honored and invoked and to whom he made offerings. At the age of fifteen or sixteen, at the behest of his father or of the chief, the young man went off all alone into retreat. Normally he climbed a tree and settled himself among the branches where he might sleep for the purpose of dreaming (*e pawamit*). For three or four successive nights he received in his dreams the visit of spirits. He saw them coming to him in great numbers, offering to serve him. He had only to choose. According to the ancient custom he attached several to himself by tacit, or occasionally express, contract, under which contract in return for their help and protection he agreed to respect them, invoke them, and make offerings to them. These protectors were called *pawaganak*.

Mustus ("ox"), a Cree of brilliant intellect, in speaking to me of old times and old ways, said to me: "All the young men on reaching the age of puberty went to dream all alone and to vow themselves to the protection of the spirits who came to visit them in their sleep".

An old Cree man, a convert to Christianity, told me how he himself in his youth had gone at the counsel of his father to dream. "During three days and three nights, straddling a cypress, I dreamed. I also fasted. The spirits came and I bound myself to several. There were good ones who helped me

in hunting. There were also maleficent ones, two in particular, who would come, at my call, only if I wanted to do some evil. If some one had offended me I would make use of these two to avenge myself. Usually they did very efficiently the task with which I charged them. Thanks to them I have gotten rid of more than one enemy. But a day came when they failed me pitifully. The night after the departure of the first missionary who came to us,—to whom I had taken a dislike,—I, dreaming, wanted to follow him and cause him to capsize in the first rapids. One after another of my *pawaganak* came at my call and declared to me trembling that they could not give me satisfaction, that the missionary had guardians too powerful for them. The fear they showed only enraged me and I began to reproach them with their cowardice and to insult them. They disappeared without saying anything. My conversion dated from that day”.

I was once assisting, more than a quarter of a century ago, at a sorcerer's seance. I was sitting about ten feet from the lodge where Mistatsas, the sorcerer, chanting and drumming, was invoking the spirits. Four came at his call and talked. The first, Sawan (“South Wind”), said: “My little children, a bad epidemic is approaching. Take precautions to escape it, I warn you”. The second one, Awasapiskokimaw (“Master of the other side of the Rockies”), said: “My little children, there are Whites not far from here who are trying to do you harm. Do not trust them, I warn you”. The third, Kiwatin (“North Wind”), said: “My little children, be glad. The lynx are traveling toward us. You will kill many, I predict”. The fourth and last, Kiwateawasis (“Orphan Child”), said: “My little children, good weather is coming to an end. Tomorrow it will snow. The cold will be felt. Take heed, I warn you”. All the above was of course said in Cree, and was heard by me as well as by the pagan Cree around me. The four spirits had no other will, it seems, but to do good to those who had invoked them and to give them good advice. They were benevolent, not malevolent.

In conclusion, we may say that, in view of these facts and of a multitude of like ones which could be added, the ancient Cree religion seems to have revolved largely around the Supreme Being and the guardian spirits. God was believed to have supreme

dominion over the world and was revered. The homage paid to Him was mostly internal, without elaborate external cult. It is seemingly this lack of external cult that has deceived passing visitors and investigators with limited time and opportunity for getting at the underlying facts. There appears to be no indication of a supreme evil being. That offerings were not made to the Supreme Good Being is no proof that they were made to a supposed supreme evil being. Most of these offerings were made to the guardian spirits, the *pawaganak*, or *okisikusak* ("little sky-beings"). Some of these beings were good, some evil. They obeyed the call of the man whom they attended. They were hardly "gods" therefore in our ordinary sense of the term. And when they did not render the service they were called upon to render, they were apt to be put aside, disdained, and insulted. Who was their master? This is hard to say. Such evidence as we have would seem to suggest that they were, like the rest of creation, creatures of the Supreme Being, acting in dependence upon Him. Such a suggestion however is far from a proven fact, and is here put forth with all due reserve. It is not easy on this point to discover the Cree mind, and perhaps the Cree themselves had no clear belief as to who was master of these spirits.

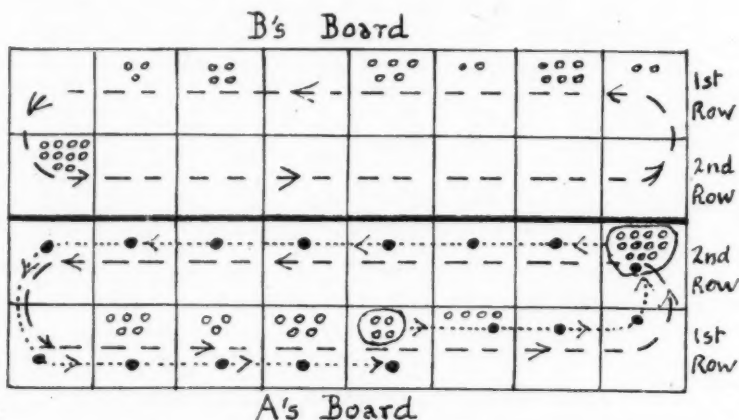
### THE MWESO GAME AMONG THE BASOGA

MOTHER M. ANNA, O.S.F.

Nagalama Convent, Kampala, Uganda, British East Africa

I FIRST observed this *mweso* game among the Bantu-speaking Basoga last year on a visit up into the Eastern Province of the Uganda Protectorate where the Basoga people live. The game is well known throughout the Protectorate, and, I believe, the same game or a very similar one is played in the north by the Arabs and on the African West Coast. One evening, while out for a walk, we passed what appeared to be a group of ordinary huts but which turned out to be a sort of "tavern" where much drinking of *mwenge*, banana beer, was going on.

In front of the huts two men, seated on the ground, were playing the game, while around them was gathered a crowd of very absorbed spectators. In front of the two men round holes were scooped out of the earth, thirty-two in number, in four rows of eight each, so that each player had two rows of eight in which to play. The game is commonly played on rectangular boards, with the same number and arrangement of holes, but when no board is available holes are just scooped in the ground. Stones, seeds, nuts, in fact almost anything small that can be conveniently handled, may be used for "men".



The main idea is to capture your opponent's "men". You play in your two rows of eight, and he in his. At the beginning of the game any arrangement of the men is permissible. You can put some in the first row, some in the second, but you should be careful not to place men in any two corresponding squares of your two rows (e. g., in the third hole from your left in both your first and second rows), because in this case your opponent, stopping opposite these two filled squares, can capture your men found therein. Your opponent may likewise arrange his men at the beginning of play in any way he likes. In figure 1, an arbitrary arrangement of men at the beginning of play is represented by the small hollow circles, each player using thirty-two men.

After this first deposition of men, the moves begin. These moves are always anti-clockwise, as represented by the broken line in fig. 1. You may begin in any of the filled squares, of either your first or your second row, scooping up the men therein in your down-turned palm, and then moving anti-clockwise on to the next holes, dropping a man in each hole without skipping any hole until all the men in your palm have been deposited. If you finish in a hole in your *second* row and opposite this hole your opponent has two holes with men in them, you may take all his men that are in the two holes, and then continue your play until your men give out again. If, on the other hand, you finish in a hole in which there are already men of your own, you may continue your play, by taking up these men and also the last of yours which you had just put in, and going on until your men give out. If you finish in an unoccupied square, your turn is over and it becomes your opponent's turn to move, by the same rules and chances by which you have moved.

In fig. 1, a first move by A is illustrated, by way of example, in the dotted line. The player started in the fifth square from the left, first row, which contained four men (represented by the hollow circles), and dropped one of these (represented by the solid black circles) in each of the following holes, finishing in the last hole to the right, second row. As this hole had men in it, eleven in the illustrative example, he was allowed to continue playing; so he gathered up the eleven plus the last one he had just deposited, and went on dropping one (solid black circles) in each succeeding hole and finishing in the fifth hole from the left, first row. Then he had to stop, for this hole was empty,—the original four in it having been taken up at the beginning of his move. His opponent would now move.

I have no doubt there are further rules to the game but the above is the main idea and procedure.

The moves are made by the natives so rapidly and the exact number of men in your opponent's holes must be perceived so quickly that the closest attention to the game on the part of the players is demanded. It is perfectly amazing to see them, hands down over the board, racing across the board, dropping the men quickly into place, scooping up the other player's men, and relay-



ing,—all with a speed hard for the unpractised eye to follow. A clever player can easily cheat, if his opponent does not sharply watch how many men he has picked up, and, besides, an odd man or two can be concealed in the hand and dropped at the next turn to move in a hole opposite the opponent's two filled ones, which would net him the men in both.

We have played the game among ourselves, and have found it very enjoyable, but we have not attained the level of cleverness at it which the natives themselves attain.

#### THE BENI SOCIETY OF TANGANYIKA TERRITORY \*

ACCORDING to information given by natives of Ufipa [east of the southern end of Lake Tanganyika] the Beni Society (Ngoma ya Beni) is a hierarchical and disciplined organization, with social, military and other functions. The society is divided into two rival branches, the Alinoti and the Marini, which differ from each other only in the respective types of members recruited. The society has common funds with which to assist its members

\* The missionary from whom this article was received has spent many years in the area. As he is not the original author of the article, he desires that his name be not signed to it. He writes the editor as follows regarding it: "I had had the intention myself of sending you an article on Beni, and then the original of the enclosed translation fell into my hands. This original, most of it in Kiswaheli, is in the archives of our vicariate and I was asked to translate it. I am sending you this near word-for-word translation. The manuscript is unsigned. It seems to have been written by a native of Ufipa, near the Tanganyika Lake country. The Ngoma ya Beni is well known all over the Tanganyika Territory, and in at least one section thereof is under Government ban. It would appear to be the cause of domestic trouble as well as of hunger to many. The airs to the different songs are rather attractive. As regards the names of the two branches, I think Marini is from "Marines", and Alinoti from "Aeronautics", I and r being interchangeable. This Ngoma has spread like wildfire all over since the Great War. I can independently verify from personal knowledge practically everything in the article, but I had not yet had the time to write on the matter. I believe the society is of Islamic origin. At any rate it spread inland from the coast, and Dar-es-Salaam, Bagamoyo, and Zanzibar are full of it". The article is published as being of interest perhaps to students of acculturation as well as to others.—EDITOR.

in certain cases. The social or recreative activities consist of a special dance, performed in a suitable place, such as, for example, the center of the village, while the manoeuvres or military exercises are performed in the open country. These activities are carried out, not only on the occasion of the marriage or death of a member, but also from time to time according to the whim of the chiefs of the society. Such are the main features of the Beni Society. We shall now take up each in detail.

Beni is an organized society. Persons wishing to play Beni must first agree to enter the society and have their names inscribed in it. Every inscribed member must agree to follow the laws of the *ngoma* and to obey all orders given by the heads thereof. Members also agree to cooperate in helping members in trouble, whatsoever the trouble may be. Thus if a person is taken for a crime, he must be helped in paying any fine imposed.

The society is hierarchically organized. The head of Beni inscribes the names of the members. He selects members for positions of office in the society. Thus there is a king, kaiser, obas (colonel), captain, lieutenant, judge, minister of finance, and sergeant. These officers wear tape on the shoulders and dress according to rank. The officers are called *Mabwana* ("Masters"), while those who have no high ranks are called *Askari*. Women are also allowed to join the society and can attain to positions of rank. One woman is kaiseress, another queen, and so on. Those of the women who are classified as soldiers must obey all orders coming from the heads of the Beni. There are also two singers, one a man and the other a woman, who are called *Kinguru*. Besides, three other members are chosen to beat the drums; these three are called *Bruki*.

The society is a disciplined one. Officers are respected just as European army officers are. The head of the society army takes command of his soldiers, and beats them with a *kiboko* (hippopotamus hide) when they march badly or are late for school or any other exercise. The army captain drills those who are called *Maaskari* (soldiers). He teaches manoeuvres and other military exercises. Those who perform these tasks badly are given the rod.

If a married woman is a member of the society and her husband is not, he may not come to summon her away during the *ngoma*.

Even when a woman member wishes to go home to cook for her husband, she must get the permission of the head of the *ngoma* before she goes. Should a husband force his way into the place of entertainment in order to fetch his wife home, the head of the Beni orders the soldiers to beat him, because he has interfered with the agreement between his wife and the society. To avoid difficulties of this nature, the general law of the society is that if a woman wishes to join it she should preferably join with her husband. Thus too trouble between the Beni head and the husband is avoided when the woman is ordered to do something which the husband may not like. The Beni is characterized by marked obedience on the part of its members, in this as in other respects.

When the chief of the Beni orders his players to go to a village to play or dance, the order is obeyed, even if they must stay there for many days. If the head of the Beni intends to assist at the dance, he sends a letter to that effect, and immediately on its receipt a house and some food are prepared for him. On arrival he is met outside the place of entertainment. A flag must be flying to welcome him. The high officials on meeting him shake hands with him and the soldiers form a guard of honor for him, while the others present salute him: "*Jambo Bwana Mkubwa*" (Goodday, Great Master). Then the singing and dancing begin.

The society disposes of common funds. Each Beni has its money-box wherein is placed the players' money. With this money the administration of the society feeds the soldiers and visitors, and also pays fines imposed on the members by the government of the country or any one else. It is the law of the society that each officer must collect money and that each member must pay according to his rank. All money collected is sent to the Minister of Finance who looks after it. When a member commits a crime and is fined, this man with the money pays. Afterwards the culprit is given a punishment by the head of the Beni or by the Beni judge; he may be ordered to be beaten with the *kiboko* or, especially if he is an official, to pay goats to the society.

The society is divided into two branches, Alinoti and Marini. In the Tanganyika Lake district there are more members of the

Alinoti than of the Marini. The activities of the two branches, and the official ranks for men and women, are the same. The songs too are the same, except that slight changes are made in order that the Alinoti may scoff at the Marini and vice versa. The Marini seem to consider themselves superior to the Alinoti. The Alinoti is also called Lukusanya, that is, the *ngoma* open to all, even to those who have no nice clothes. Certainly Alinoti does not make pretensions to élite membership. Even a man who wears only skin clothing can enter it. Marini, on the contrary, keeps aloof from poorly dressed people. The members of Marini all dress well, the women especially so. The wealthy members wear a head dress (*mabuibui*), Arabic shoes (*makubazi*), and a cloth for the head (*shungi*). Marini members love to show themselves off, and they pride themselves on their cleverness at manoeuvres. The Marini are forever making fun of and even scoffing at the Alinoti. However, as previously noted, each of the two branches makes fun of the other.

The women of Marini laugh at the Alinoti women. When the former dance they shake themselves about, with their head on one side shoot glances here and there, and sing:

*Mama kwaka herini! Tu me kwenda Ndanda.  
Alinoti wanalia, wanashikwa tamma,  
Watuona Wamarini, watu bora sana.*

(" Goodbye mother! We have gone to Ndanda.  
Alinoti weep, they are envious,  
Because they see that the Marini are the better ".)

At the end of this song, the queen (*kinis*) orders the singers to laugh at the Alinoti. She says: " Laugh at them first "; and all respond: " Haooo, haooo, haooo ". Then she says: " Ridicule the members of Alinoti "; and all reply: " Haooo, haooo, haooo ". After this the Marini singers continue to make fun of the Alinoti, singing:

*Sisi Marini ni watu wa pwani!  
Washenzi wa bara, A, hamtaiweza!*

(" We Marini are coastal people!  
Savages from up-country, Ah, you are not able! ".)

Although the two branches laugh at each other, nevertheless on certain occasions they meet and exercise together to see which is the better.

A first chief activity of the Beni is the special dance. In this dance the women are together and the men are together, forming one big circle. The drum beaters are in the center of the circle. Two singers (*wakinguru*) stand inside the circle at a point near the periphery and lead the singing. The dance starts with all standing at attention. Then the dancers turn slightly and the circle starts in motion. The two singers begin singing and the others respond. At times the two singers sing alone whilst the others stand at attention just like soldiers. The dancers have each a stick in the right hand, and the left hand is upraised showing the last three fingers. The women make head movements and flaunt themselves to their utmost. Here are the songs, some of them suggestive, some not.

*Funua macho, dada Mwajuma,  
Funua macho. Ushahada uuache,  
Ya pili ni kaka yako: amekulalaje?  
Mwajuma ache ukawale.*

("Open you eyes, sister of Juma,  
Open your eyes. Leave aside incest,  
The other is your brother: how has he been with you?  
Juma stop this business".)

*Wanawake wa regiment  
Waembe dodo—ondokeni Wamarini,  
Tukawatazame wanawake  
Wenye maziwa kama viatu vya hela.*

("Women of the regiment  
Waembe dodo—get out Marini,  
That we may see the women  
With breasts so precious".)

*Waembo dodo* refers to the wombs. Here they are praising their own.

*Sikilizeni mapendo mbali mbali! Dada.  
Akalia kuoa Zanzibar. Sikilizeni watu wa Mkanda.  
Nilipata mimba ya kwanza, kwa sababu seven Kea.  
Ile Kea imekuja kuvunja maboma Zanzibar.*

(" Listen my different loved ones! Sister.  
She cried on marrying in Zanzibar. Listen men of Mkanda.  
I first conceived because of a soldier of the 7th K.A.R.  
That soldier came and deflowered me in Zanzibar ".)

This song is a remembrance of the troubled days of the Great War, because many native women were rendered pregnant when caught by the soldiers of the 7th Battalion of the King's African Regiment.

The second chief activity of Beni is Manova. Manova are warlike games. The kaiser (head of Beni) on a given day orders his soldiers to assemble out in the bush or open country for drill. The soldiers separate themselves into two divisions, the second division being the " enemy ". The kaiser takes command of the first division and stands at the right; the major takes command of the second division, the " enemy ", and stands at the left. Both divisions then set off in marching order and walk for about two hours. Then they have a " battle ". Meanwhile the women remain at home to prepare the food.

The " battle " starts, and when an enemy is captured a rope is tied around his loins and he becomes a prisoner. Captured high officials are not tied with a rope, but are guarded by soldiers. The battle continues until a line is captured or until they are tired. Then the trumpet is sounded as the signal to stop the battle and to come together.

Ordinary soldiers who have been taken prisoners are tied together in a line with a rope and are looked after by a sergeant who holds a *kiboko* in his hand. The prisoners of high rank are put under charge of a lieutenant as soon as their weapons have been taken away from them. The victors with grass tied around their loins and placed on their heads, walk behind the prisoners, and sing as they go along:

*Tumemkamata simba wa Beni  
Tumemkamata simba wa Beni  
Mwanzo wa Ulaya hata Africa  
Askari yetu shujaa kabisa.*

(" We have taken the Beni lion  
We have taken the Beni lion  
From Europe to Africa  
Our soldiers are very brave ".)

After they arrive back in town they surround their prisoners in great jubilation and sing:

*Nitasafiri niende nao mbali sana.  
Leta bombom vita vikali sana.  
Turudi mwambani, sisi mashujj sana,  
Tumewashinda washenzi wa Mitamba.*

("I shall go with them far away.  
Bring cannons for a terrible war.  
Let's return to the coast, we brave soldiers,  
We have beaten the Mitamba savages".)

The word *Mitamba* is used in derision of the swaggering gait of the English soldiers.

After this they play in the open as usual, but the prisoners have not a word to say until they receive permission. The women bring food. The head and other officials each receives a whole plate to himself. The soldiers also eat. Each member receives food according to his rank.

A few more general remarks on Beni activities may here be added. The Beni players go around to different villages to play. If a member of Beni dies the others go to play in his honor. The cloth in which the body is wrapped is paid for by the society. If a child of a member dies, the players also go and play in his honor. If a member marries, the players go and dance in his or her honor. When the players go to a village to dance for several days, there is apt to be a good deal of loose behavior, as the women and men are thrown very much together, with the result that liaisons are agreed upon. Further trouble arises when the woman only, and not her husband, is a member of Beni, for when she plays she is forbidden to return home without the permission of the head of the society. If permission is refused, her husband goes to bed without food, and naturally is in a temper over it.

So far in the present account we have been dealing only with established facts. In what now follows, common talk and rumor enter in and the facts are not so well established.

Up in the Tanganyika Lake district, people commonly say that the victors in the *manova* (military manoeuvres) are permitted adulterous relations with the women, especially the women of



the prisoners, and this particularly among the Marini. Even when the husband is present, he can say nothing, because of his written agreement of obedience as a member. In other parts of the country, especially on the coast, high officials of the society are free to ask the head for permission to go to any woman they wish and this permission is given in the following form: "Take her if you wish". The woman's husband in the case cannot object; if he does, the head orders his soldiers to beat him.

The dance at night often degenerates into an orgy. Then too after night dances the wife may return at all hours and her husband, who may not be a member, has to let her in; his patience wears out, and divorce is often the result. Trouble arises in the towns because the non-member husbands will not put up too often with such conduct on the part of their wives, and fighting among families results. As for unmarried boys and girls taking part in Beni playing, there is not much concern or worry by any one, although the old men object to having their sleep disturbed by the noise. A couple of nights of Beni in any village are enough to break up the village, because with Beni are associated many kinds of loose moral practices.

### THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CONFERENCE

THE Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the Catholic Anthropological Conference was held on Tuesday, April 19, 1938, at Maryknoll Seminary, Maryknoll, New York. The morning session was presided over by the President, Rev. Leopold H. Tibesar, M.M.; the afternoon session, by the Vice-President, Rev. Francis P. LeBuffe, S.J.

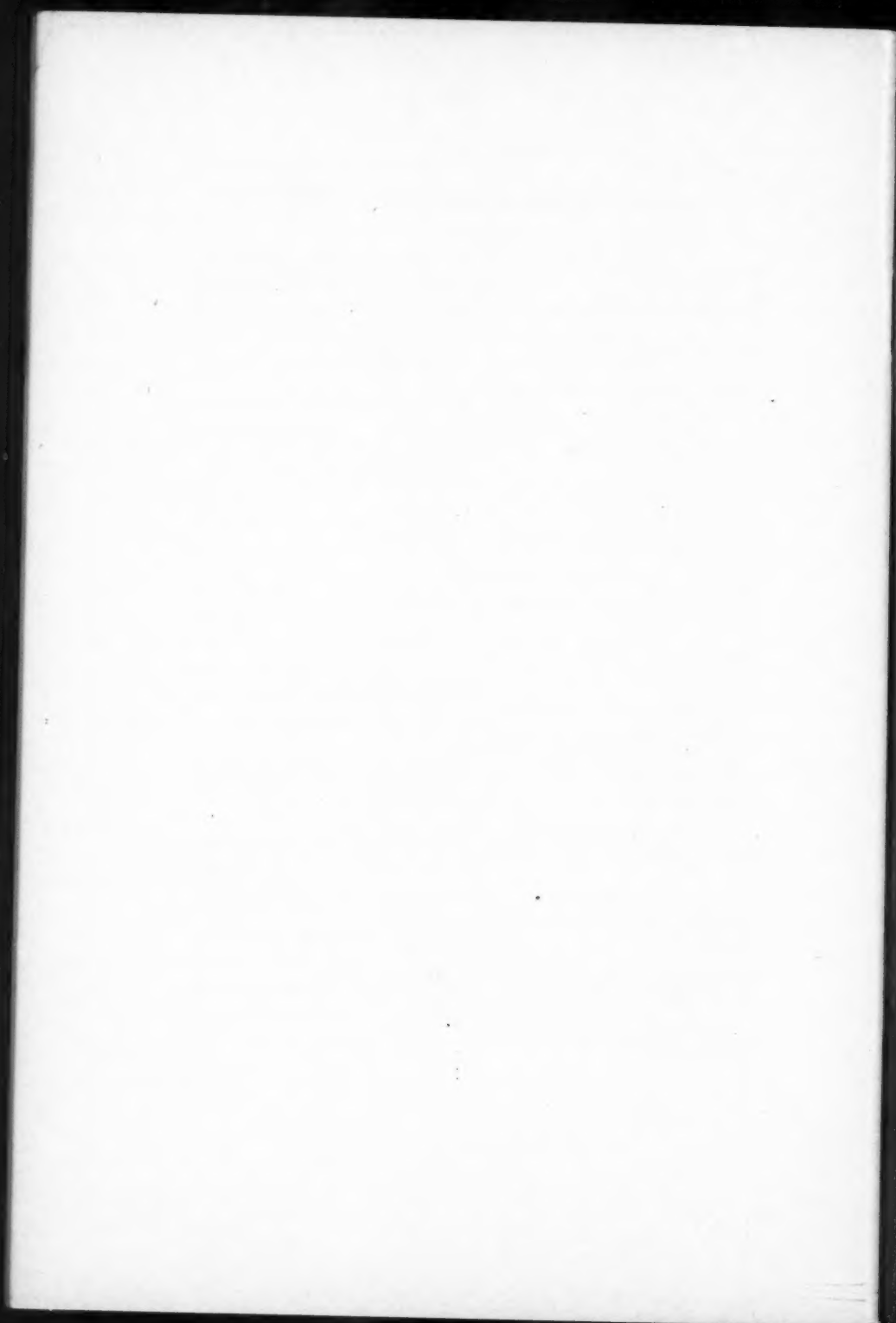
The papers and talks given at the two sessions constituted a symposium on the general topic, "Anthropology and the Missions". The following speakers took part in the symposium: Rev. James M. Drought, M.M., Vicar General, Maryknoll Fathers; Rev. Leopold H. Tibesar, M.M., Seattle, Washington; Mother Mary Joseph, Superior General, Foreign Mission Sisters of St. Dominic; Rev. Eugene Buechel, S.J., St. Francis Mission, South Dakota; Rev. Francis P. LeBuffe, "America"; Very Rev. R. McCoy, White Fathers of Africa, Ottawa, Canada; Rev. Edward Ward, Society of African Missions, Washington, D. C.; Rev. John M. Cooper.

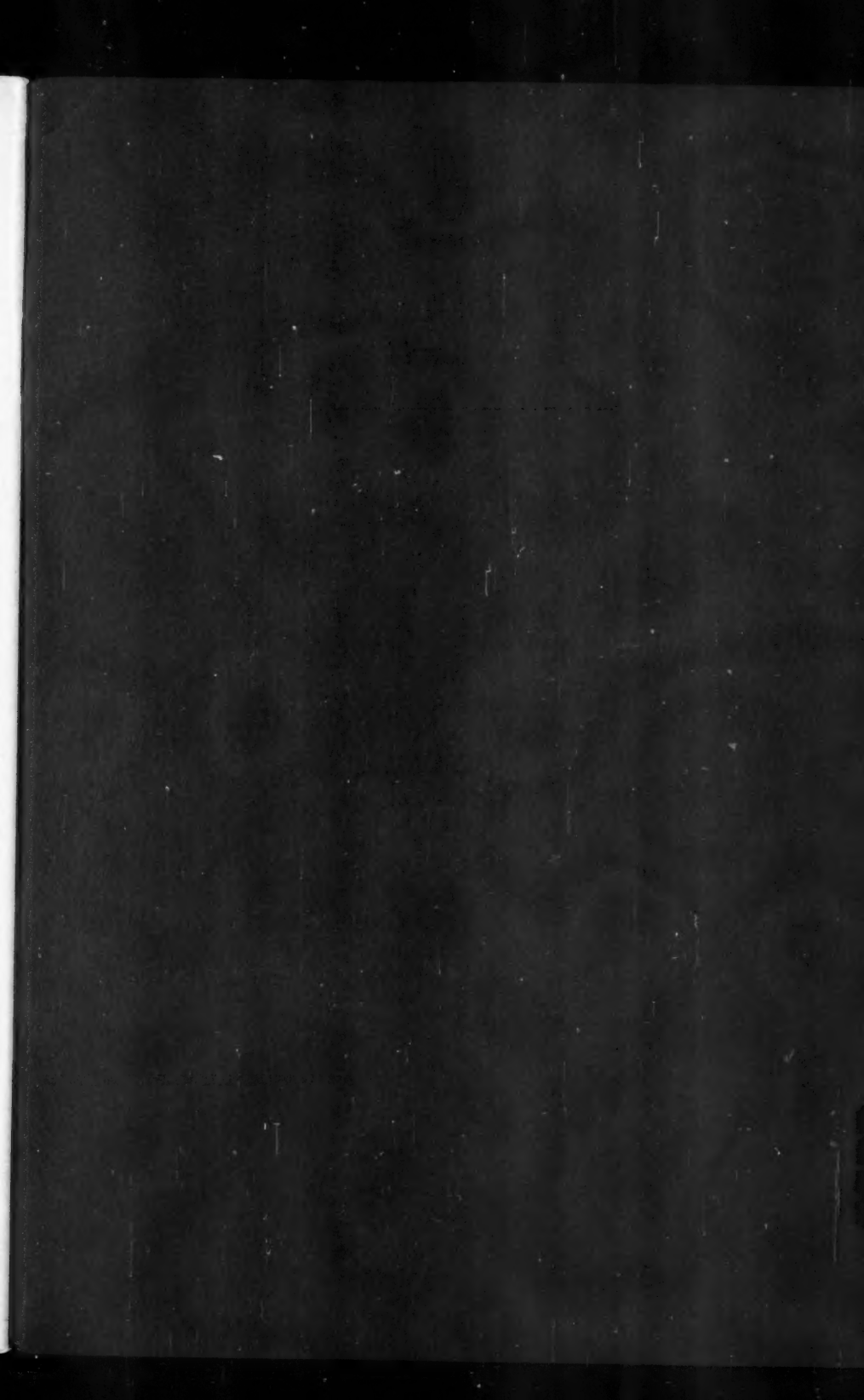
At the afternoon session the following officers were elected: Honorary President, Rt. Rev. Msgr. Joseph M. Corrigan, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D.; President, Rev. Leopold H. Tibesar, M.M.; Vice-President, Rev. Francis P. LeBuffe, S.J.; Secretary-Treasurer, Rev. John M. Cooper; Assistant Editor, Miss Regina Flannery; Executive Board: Rev. Joseph Meier, M.S.C., Rev. Raymond Murray, C.S.C., Rev. J. B. Tenny, to 1939; Rev. Berard Haile, O.F.M., Rev. Albert Muntz, S.J., Rev. Morice Vanoverbergh, C.I.C.M., to 1940; Mother Mary Joseph, O.P., Very Rev. Bruno Hagspiel, S.V.D., Dr. Fred. P. Kenkel, to 1941.

It was voted that the next annual meeting be held on Easter Tuesday, April 11, 1939, at the Catholic University of America, at the invitation of the Rector, on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the University, and that the subject of the symposium for the meeting be: "The Relations of Anthropology to Theology, Philosophy, and the Natural and Social Sciences".

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